

# AMERICAN RECORDER.

NORTH CAROLINA PORTFOLIO

"Be just, and fear not;  
Let all the ends thou aim'st at  
Be thy Country's, thy God's, & Truth's."

(PUBLISHED BY JOHN M'WILLIAMS AT THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM, PAYABLE HALF-YEARLY IN ADVANCE.)

VOL. IX.]

WASHINGTON, N. C.—FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1824.

[NO. 436]

From the Essex Register.  
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Of a kindred character with the attack on the manners and temper of Mr. Adams, is that on his religious character. We understand the advocates of one of the candidates have asserted, that he was the only one who had not abandoned the religion of his fathers—thus imputing to Mr. Adams, & the other candidates, a disbelief in Christianity. No attack, so far as regards Mr. Adams, could be more unfortunate, for we believe no statesman of the present or any former period, has had a more thorough persuasion of the truth of Christianity, or has more uniformly performed the duties required of the disciples of that religion. Fortunately, we are not left to conjecture as it relates to Mr. Adams' opinions on this subject; but we have them from his own pen, in the most striking and impressive manner. When Mr. Adams was Minister in Russia, he left part of his family behind him in Quincy. A series of letters written by him, whilst there, to his son, is expressly devoted to his remarks on the Christian Religion, and the Book which contains its history and precepts. If the public could possess this little volume, they would never question the manners, temper or Christian principles of Mr. Adams. But to a request made within a few months, by a Christian Society, for permission to publish these letters, Mr. Adams has given his refusal. When they can be published, without any suspicion of the motives for publication, we have no doubt they will be given to the world, and will add another illustrious testimony of greatness to the truth of our religion. Although these letters have never been printed, many manuscript copies of them have got abroad, and hundreds have read them, and they have been introduced into some private schools. And we trust, when the purpose for which we quote them, to defend Mr. Adams against a most cruel attack, is considered, we shall not be charged with piracy, in making a few extracts from them.

Our quotations will be to two points—Mr. Adams' opinion of the Bible, and the religion it inculcates—and his opinion of the operation and government of the passions.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS TO HIS SON.

"In your letter of the 19th of January, to your mother, you mention, that you read to your aunt a chapter in the Bible, or a section from Dr. Doddridge, every evening. This information gave me great pleasure; for so strong is my veneration for the Bible, so strong my belief that when daily read and meditated upon, it is, of all books in the world, that which contributes most to make men good, wise and happy; that the earlier my children begin to read it, and the more steadily they pursue the practice of reading it throughout their lives, the more lively and confident will be my hopes that they will prove useful citizens to their country, respectable members of society, and a real blessing to their parents." "I advise you, my son, in whatsoever you read, and most of all in reading the Bible, to remember, that it is for the purpose of making you wiser, and more virtuous. I have, for myself, for many years, made it a practice to read through the Bible once every year; I have always endeavored to read it with the same spirit and temper of mind which I now recommend to you; that is, with the intention & desire that it might contribute to my advancement in wisdom and virtue; my desire is indeed very imperfectly successful; for, like you, and the Apostle Paul, I find a law in my members warring against the law of my mind. But, as I know it is my nature to be imperfect, so I know it is my duty to aim at perfection; and feeling and deploring my own frailties, I can only pray

Almighty God for the aid of his spirit to strengthen my good desires, and subdue my propensities to evil, for it is from him that every good and perfect gift descendeth. My custom is, to read four or five chapters of the Bible every morning, immediately after rising from bed; it employs about an hour of my time, and seems the most suitable manner of beginning the day." "Every time I read the Bible, I understand some passages which I never understood before." "Heaven has given to every human being the power of controlling his passions; and if he neglects or loses it, the fault is his own, and he must be accountable for it." "It is essential, my son, in order that you may go through life with comfort to yourself, and usefulness to your fellow creatures, that you should form and adopt certain rules and principles for the government of your conduct and temper; unless you have such rules and principles, there will be numberless occasions in which you will have no guide for your government, but your passions. It is in the Bible you must learn these rules and principles."

Speaking of those parts of the Scriptures that appear mysterious, he says—"All this is undoubtedly marvellous and above our comprehension; much of it is clearly figurative and allegorical; nor is it easy to distinguish what part of it is to be understood in a literal, and what in a symbolical sense—but that which it imports us to understand is plain.—The great and essential principles upon which our duties and enjoyments depend, are involved in no obscurity." "When one of the personages in one of Terence's comedies, the first time uttered in the Theatre the line, 'Homo sum, et humani a me nil alienum puto,'\* an universal shout of applause burst from the whole audience, and that in so great a multitude of Romans, and of Deputies from the nations, their subjects and allies, there was not one individual but felt in his heart the power of this noble sentiment. Yet, how feeble and defective is it, in comparison with the Christian commands of charity, as unfolded in the discourses of Christ, and enlarged upon in the writings of the Apostles. The heart of man will always respond with rapture to the sentiment, when there is no selfish, no unsocial passion at work to oppose it. But the command to lay it down, as the great fundamental rule of conduct for human life, and to subdue and sacrifice all the tyrannical and selfish passions, to preserve it—this is the peculiar and unfading glory of Christianity—this is a conquest over ourselves, which, without the aid of a merciful God, none of us can achieve, and which it was worthy of his special interposition to enable us to accomplish."

"In my last, I shewed you, from the very words of our Saviour, that he commanded his disciples to aim at perfection; and that this perfection consisted in self-subjugation and brotherly love, in the complete conquest of the passions, and in the practice of benevolence to our fellow creatures, including among them our most inveterate enemies." "You will there find proved the duty of totally subduing the passions. It is sometimes objected, that this theory is not adapted to the infirmities of human nature; that it is not made for a being so constituted as man, that an earthen vessel is not formed to dash against a rock; that in yielding to the impulse of the passions, man only follows the dictates of his nature; and that to subdue them entirely, is an effort beyond his power. The weakness and frailty of man, it is not possible to deny; it is too strongly attested by all human experience, as well as by the whole tenor of the scriptures; but the degree of weakness to be limited by the efforts to overcome it, and not by indulgence to it. Once admit weakness is an argument to forbear exertion, and it results in absolute impotence. It is also very inconclusive reasoning, to infer, that because perfection is not absolutely to be obtained, it is therefore not to be sought. Human excellence consists in the approximation to perfection; and the only means of approaching to any term, is by endeavouring to obtain the term itself. With these convictions upon the mind, and, with a sin-

\* I am a man, and nothing which relates to man can be foreign from my bosom.

cere, honest effort to practise upon them, and with the aid of a divine blessing, which is promised to it, the approaches to perfection may at least be so great as nearly to answer all the ends that absolute perfection itself could attain."

"In order to preserve the dominion of our own passions, it behoves us to be constantly & strictly upon our guard, against the influence and infection of the passions of others. This caution is all necessary in youth; and I deem it the more indispensable to enjoin it upon you, as kindness and benevolence comprise the whole system of Christian duties, there may be, and often is, great danger of falling into error and vice, merely by the want of energy to resist the example, or the enticement of others. On this point, the true character of Christian morality appears to have been misunderstood, by some of its ablest and warmest defenders. In Paley's 'View of the Evidences of Christianity,' there is a chapter upon the morality of the Gospel, in which there is the following passage: 'That truth is, there are two opposite descriptions of character under which mankind may generally be classed.—The one possesses vigor, firmness, resolution—is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame, eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purposes, violent in its resentments. The other meek, yielding, complying, forgiving, not prompt to act, but willing to suffer, silent and gentle under rudeness and insult, suing for reconciliation, when others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of imprudence, conceding and indulgent to the prejudices, the intractability of those it has to deal with; the former of these characters is, and ever hath been, the favorite of the world. It is the character of great men. There is a dignity in it, which universally demands respect. The latter is poor spirited, tame and abject. Yet it so happened with the founder of Christianity, the latter is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example, and that the former is no part of its composition. Dr. Paley in this place adopting the opinion of Soame Jennings, whose essay upon the internalevidences of Christianity, he very strongly recommends; but I cannot consider it as an accurate and discerning delineation of character, or as exhibiting a correct representation of Christian principles. The founder of Christianity, did indeed pronounce distinct & positive blessings upon the poor in spirit (which is by no means synonymous with the poor spirited), and the meek. But in what part of the gospel did Dr. Paley find him countenancing by commendation, precept, or example, the tame and abject. The character which Christ assumed upon earth, was that of Lord and Master. It was in this character that his disciples received & acknowledged him. The obedience that he required, was unbounded; infinitely beyond that which was claimed by the almost absolute earthly sovereign over his subjects. Neither for one moment did he recede from the authoritative system.

He preserved it in washing the feet of his disciples.—He preserved it in his answer to the high priest. He preserved it in the very agony of his exclamation upon the cross—"Father forgive them, they know not what they do."—He expressly declares himself to be the Prince of this world, and the Son of God. He spoke as one having authority, not only to his disciples, but to his mother, his Judges, and to Pilate, the Roman Governor, to John the Baptist, his precursor. And there is not, in the four Gospels, one act, nor one word recorded of him (excepting in his communion with God,) that was not a direct or implied assertion of authority. He said to his disciples (Mat. xii. 29.) 'learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest to your souls.' But where did he ever say, learn of me, for I am tame and abject. There is certainly nothing more strongly marked in the precept and example of Christ, than the principle of stubborn and inflexible resistance against the impulses of others to evil. He taught his disciples to renounce every thing that is counted enjoyment upon earth; to take their cross, and suffer all ill-treatment, persecution and death, for his sake. What

else is, the Book of Acts, than a record of the faithfulness with which these chosen ministers of the gospel carried these injunctions of the gospel into execution? In the conduct and speeches of Stephen, and Peter, of John or of Paul, is there any thing indicating a resemblance to the second class of characters, into which Dr. Paley divides all mankind? If there is a character on historical record, distinguished by a bold, intrepid, tenacious and inflexible spirit, it is that of St. Paul.

It was to such characters only, that the commission of teaching could be committed, with certainty of success. Observe the expression of Christ to Peter. (Matt. x. 18.) "And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, (a rock,) and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Dr. Paley's Christian is one of those drivellers, who, to use a vulgar adage, can never say No to any body. The true Christian is the "Justum et tenacem propositum"† of Horace. The combination of those qualities so essential to the heroic character, with those of meekness, lowliness of heart, and brotherly love, is what constitutes that moral perfection, of which Christ gave an example in his own life, and to which he commanded his disciples to aspire. Endeavour, my dear son, to discipline your heart, and to govern your conduct by these principles thus combined.—Be meek, be gentle, be kindly affectionate to all mankind, not excepting your own enemies.—But never be tame or abject; never give way to the pushes of impudence, or show yourself yielding and complying to prejudices, wrong headedness, or intractability, which would lead or draw you astray from the dictates of your own conscience, or sense of right—"Till you die, let not your integrity depart from you." Build your house upon a Rock, and then let the rains descend, the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon that house, it shall not fall, for it will be founded on a rock. So promises your blessed Lord and Saviour, and prays your affectionate father."

"The principles and rules of composition, derived from Greek and Roman schools, and the example of their principal writers, have been so generally adopted in modern literature, that the style of the scriptures, differing so essentially from them, could not be imitated without great affectation. But for pathos of narrative, for the selection of incidents that go directly to the heart; for the picturesque of character and manners; the selection of circumstances that mark the individuality of persons; for copiousness, grandeur, and sublimity of imagery; for unanswerable cogency, and closeness of reasoning; for irresistible force of persuasion, no book in the world deserves to be so unceasingly studied, and so profoundly meditated upon as the Bible."—"Be careful not to let your reading make you a pedant, or a bigot; nor to puff you up with a conceited opinion of your own knowledge; or make you intolerant of the opinions which others draw from the same source, however different from your own.—And may the Merciful Creator, who gave the Scriptures for our instruction, bless your study of them, and make them to you fruitful of good works."

The foregoing are extracted from eleven long letters, covering more than seventy pages of manuscript. Such is the man, the father, who is charged with having passions uncontrolled, and apostatizing from the religion of his forefathers. In this whole series of letters, are no sectarian or controversial views. The public from these extracts, can judge of the temper and Christian principles of Mr. Adams.—We leave them to draw their own conclusions, without any commentary from us.

FENELLA,

† The man who is just and firm to his purpose.

Molasses.



20 Hhds. prime M O

ASSES, for sale by

R. & W. TANNAHILL.

March 26.—435



## RECORDED.

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1824.

**A Phenomena in Nature.**—A cow of Maj. Samuel Latham's recently produced a fine thrifty calf, but without eyes—a small aperture is visible, with eye lashes, but as far as can be ascertained by feeling, there are no eye-balls beneath them.

**Varoloid or Chicken Pox.**—A disease has made its appearance in the vicinity of this Town, which, one of the Physicians terms Varoloid, others of the faculty, say it is the Chicken Pox—we hope it may prove to be nothing more than the latter.

The Tariff Bill continues before Congress.—The eccentric John Randolph in support of a motion for adjournment of the National Legislature, remarked "he tho't it was time that every member who did not intend to rely on the Public crib, but to feed out of his own corn house, should go home and plant his corn."

The Committee on Foreign Relations of which Mr. Forsyth is Chairman, has reported unfavorably on the petitions (from almost every port on the continent,) for redress for spoliation committed by French cruizers between the years 1793 and 1800. We shall, if practicable, publish the report in our next, when our readers will witness the reflections cast on the patriotism of many of the most respectable citizens in the union, among whom are soldiers of the Revolutionary struggle, and Republicans of tried integrity, by a Committee, the chairman of which, was recently a champion in the ranks of Federalism, and now equally active in promoting caucus views and caucus candidates.

We hope in our next to give the speech of the ex-Governor Branch in the Senate on the subject of Canvassing, in which he is supported by that indelible republican Mr. Macon.

The Court Martial lately held on Capt. Sidney Smith of the Navy, adjudged he should be cashiered, for having conveyed in a public ship some Cochineal on freight, but in consideration of his long services they recommended him to mercy.—The President has approved the sentence and acceded to the recommendation of the Court, restoring Capt. Smith to his rank and station.

The British Consul has quit Algiers and war exists between that kingdom and the British nation.

The notorious WILLIS EDG, whom we noticed in our last as having been shot, was not killed, but severely wounded, taken and committed to Winton jail; there to await his trial, for stealing and carrying off with intent to sell, a Negro Girl slave the property of a Mr. Riddick, of Gates county, Edenton Gaz.

An effort was made in the House of Representatives, yesterday, by Mr. Allen of Mass. to call up his resolution to limit the duration of the present session, but the House refused to consider it. There is an evident indisposition to fix any limit, until the Tariff is disposed of by the House; and, if any judgment as to that matter can be formed from present appearances, this cannot be for, perhaps, two weeks to come. In all probability, the session will continue until late in May; notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Mr. Randolph, who deprecates the pestilential atmosphere of the chamber of representatives, as much as travellers in Java dread an approach to the fabled Upas.

### FROM A FIRST RATE SOURCE.

Monsieur P. P. F. Degrand's Boston Weekly Report of Public Sales and of Arrivals, gives the following extract as coming from a first rate source. It is dated Paris 22d, 1824.—"The cause of liberty never was in greater danger. The allies are determined to put it down in the U. S. as well as in Europe and S. A. cost what it may. England is treacherous to the cause of freedom; Russia is powerful; France and Austria subservient.—Prepare yourselves to see a most formidable attack on the U. S. within a very few years

Spies will swarm all over your land." We are glad to hear that the allies will not make the threatened attack immediately. A little delay will enable us to place Jackson in the Presidential Chair, when we shall be enabled to defy that "foul fiend," the unholy alliance of Europe.

Pet. Rep.

### CONFERENCE.

The Virginia Conference convened in Petersburg, Va. on the 18th March, and concluded its session on the 24th. The following are the appointments of the Preachers:

#### JAMES RIVER DISTRICT,

CALEB LEACH, P. E.

Richmond, E. Drake, Williamsburg, J. F. Andrews, Gloucester, Samuel Cushman, Charles P. Witherspoon, Hanover, John Hales, D. O. Shattock, Columbia, James Avis, Thomas Lemay, Culpeper, G. W. Harper, W. Hammet, Amherst, Moses Brock.

#### MEHERRIN DISTRICT,

H. G. LEIGH, P. E.

Lynchburg, Thomas Howard, Bedford, William H. Starr, Anson Chadwick, Buckingham, H. Alley, L. E. Jones, Greensville, John H. Thompson, Sam'l Tompkins, Petersburg, George W. Charlton, Mecklenburg, James Smith, Philip Anderson, Brunswick, Charles L. Cooley, James Morrison, Amelia, J. C. Bellew, Bennet T. Blake, Chesterfield, T. R. Brame, John Kerr.

#### NORFOLK DISTRICT,

B. DEVANY, P. E.

Norfolk, George M. Anderson, Portsmouth, George A. Bane, Princess Ann, T. Gerard, S. Harrell, Sussex, Christopher Thomas, Murfreesborough & Gates, C. Hooks, Wm. D. Goode, Suffolk & Surry, Waddill Johnson.

#### YADKIN DISTRICT,

L. SKIDMORE, P. E.

Granville, Peter Doub, Franklin, James Reid, Yadkin, Robert Wilkinson, Iredell, Benjamin W. Ogden, Salisbury, James Dunaway, Guilford, Jesse Lea, Caswell, Joakim Lane, Hillsborough, Thomas Crowder.

#### NEUSE DISTRICT,

WM. COMPTON, P. E.

Newbern—F. A. Ward, Raleigh City, William Leigh, Raleigh District, R. B. Foster, Harrison M. Macon, Trent, Rufus Wiley, Topsail Inlet, Joseph Carle, Beaufort & Straits, Joshua Leigh, Black River, Benjamin Edge, Tar River, Thomas Mann, John H. Watson, Hare River, Jacob Hill, David Robert.

#### ROANOKE DISTRICT,

H. HOMES, P. E.

Roanoke, Joseph Carson, Christopher S. Mooring, Washington, T. Muir, Swift Creek & Albemarle Sound, Joseph Goode, Mulhannet, Bazile Floyd, Banks & Islands, William W. White, Camden, Benton Field, Edenton, Overton Bernard.

#### CONFERENCE MISSIONARY, John Early.

The following are the Delegates elected to GENERAL CONFERENCE, which will commence the 1st day of May in the city of Baltimore:

William Compton, E. Drake, J. C. Ballew, Henry Holmes, H. G. Leigh, Caleb Leach, Benjamin Devany, L. Skidmore, John Lattimore, reserved member.

All the houses of worship in the town were kindly tendered to the use of the Conference, and cordially accepted.—Multitudes attended the word, even to overflowing. There were a number of happy conversions, and the prospects of a revival of religion in the town are quite flattering. The Reverend ENOC GEORGE was the only Bishop that attended; the other two are expected at the General Conference.

The first Friday in May was appointed as a day of Fasting and Prayer, for the prosperity of Zion—and the 24th of October as a day of Thanksgiving, in memory of the first Itinerant Methodist Preachers who landed in these United States.

A woman named Berner, at Brussels, has been delivered of three girls; eleven months previous she was also delivered of three girls; so that in less than twelve months she was the mother of six children.

The several resolutions proposing amendments to the Constitution, which gave rise to the discussion upon the propriety of Congressional Caucuses, have finally been disposed of by the Senate. The debate which took place yesterday was equally animated & interesting with that which occurred on the preceding days, though it was not confined to the question of caucuses, but embraced the merits of the amendments themselves.—To an allusion made by Mr. Barbour of Va. in reference to the venerable John Taylor of Caroline, that it was under his tuition he had first learned the practice of caucusing, and that such instruction and example he could not but follow undeviatingly. Mr. Taylor replied with great humor and playfulness, that his pupil had been, in this matter, a very apt scholar, and had far outstripped his master.—He denied, that he had ever attended a

caucus in the whole course of his public life, and asserted, that the only meeting which he was ever at, that partook at all of its character, was the one at Richmond in the year 1798, which framed the famous Virginia resolutions.—He adverted to the distinction which gentlemen had drawn between their public and individual capacities; denied its existence, and proceeded, in a series of able and forcible remarks, to denounce such proceedings as irregular, and as tending to raise up a great national government, which would overthrow the whole fabric of our republican institutions.

Wash. Rep.

J. Q. ADAMS IN OHIO.—Extract of a letter from a Member of the Legislature of Ohio, under date of Feb. 16th, 1824.

"The members of the Legislature have just had a meeting at which it was ascertained that Mr. Adams had a MAJORITY of the members in his favor, and that though Mr. Clay will have an opposition ticket, yet we have such general intelligence as warrants the conviction that Mr. Adams has a great majority of the State." We (the editors of the Patriot) have similar news from INDIANA.

It is said, that the Western friends of Mr. CLAY, who will shortly cease to be a Presidential Candidate, will divide between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson.

A letter from Buenos Ayres, of the 7th of January, states that General ALVERA has been appointed, by that government, as Ambassador to the United States. He was to have left Buenos Ayres in the month of January, for the United States via England.

Extract of a letter to the Editor of the Herald, dated "WASHINGTON, 18th MARCH, 1824."

"DEAR SIR—The sentence of the Court Martial upon Mr. Kennon is a 'full acquittal' upon every charge and specification—but the Court go no further!

"He is ordered to the Pacific in the Peacock—and if report tells true, this is a step by the 'powers that rule the roost' to stifle all further enquiry about the famous Georgia libel!—for, it is said here, the Secretary will make no part of the proceedings public but the sentence—and making Kennon's sailing nearly simultaneous with a knowledge of his sentence, puts it out of his power to get any thing else for that purpose.

"No steps are to be taken against the prosecutor though the Court have declared that the charges and specifications are not proved!

"I make this known to you to satisfy the curiosity I know your readers have about the late Court Martial, and suggest it as due to justice and the honor of the Navy, whether it will not be expedient for L. Kennon to publish all that he can, to wit,—his defence. The public will from that, I am told, be able to comprehend something of a transaction of which they are to be officially kept ignorant, but which they have only to know to stamp with their severest reprehension.

"The Officers here 'under the rank of captain,' hope some independent Member of Congress will call for the proceedings of the Court Martial: Amen say I."

Norfolk Beacon.

### FROM SPAIN.

MADRID, FEB. 10.

The King has ratified the treaty concluded on the 5th Jan. with France, relative to captures made during the late war.

### THE COLONIES.

The following is an outline of the decree just issued, relative to the commerce of the Colonies.

"By my preceding decrees, I have abolished in my States beyond the Sea, the self-styled Constitutional system, and have there re-established my government on the same footing as it was prior to the 7th March 1820.

"As to commercial relations, I have caused it to be signified to the respective authorities, by my ordinance of the 4th of January, that they were to maintain these relations as they existed at that time. Having since consulted with my Council of the Indies, and my Council of Ministers, I have resolved, and decree as follows:

1st. Direct commerce shall be carried on in my American States with foreigners, subjects of the Powers and Allies, the friends of Spain; and the merchant vessels of the said Powers may be permitted to trade with those ports in the same manner as with those of my States in Europe.

2d. A decree shall be issued to regulate this commerce, and to determine the ports with which it shall be carried on—both in the *Mer du Nord*, the Islands, and the Pacific Ocean.

"There shall be established Custom

houses, where shall be collected the duties of exports and imports, on the footing of equality among the subjects of the said Power."

3d. It shall in like manner be determined, by the regulations on this head, what advantages and privileges ought to be allowed to Spanish Commerce, Agriculture and Industry.

4th. Until the two preceding articles may be fully executed, there shall be no innovation in the present state of commerce with America; and it shall be assimilated as possible in other respects to the custom in the Island of Cuba. Spaniards will see in these measures a new proof of my fervent desire for their prosperity; European Spaniards will see my firm resolution to preserve to them the privileges and advantages to which they have a right—Merchants of good faith of all countries, the intention to preserve and favour the existing commercial relations, and the advantageous employment of their capitals; and in fine, the allied and friendly sovereigns and governments, a public testimony of the value which I attach to the preservation of the harmony and good understanding which unite us.

From Silliman's Journal of Science,

### ART OF WRITING

M. Le Roi has contrived a new and very simple method for teaching the art of writing. A thin & perfectly transparent plate of horn, of the usual size of a leaf of paper, has the polish removed from one of its sides. When laid upon the copy, the hand of a child easily traces the letters upon the unpolished side, which neither absorbs the ink nor allows it to spread. When the whole plate is written over, the ink is washed off with water, and is ready for a new exercise. Thus the same horn which is not liable to break, may serve indefinitely, and by this means produce a great economy of paper—a consideration not to be neglected. Some analogous methods have been adopted both in England and France. Oiled paper, glass, a machine for guiding the pupil's hand, &c. have been used, but it is evident that the method of M. Le Roi has none of their imperfections. The minister of the interior, who has witnessed the success obtained by this invention, has rewarded the author; and the societies of encouragement, and of elementary instruction, as well as the writing academy, have expressed their approbation of this new process. Mothers may teach their children to write in the absence of the master, or even dispense with his attendance, by the adoption of the horn.

### TO YOUNG MEN.

He that tiltheth his land, shall be satisfied with bread; but he that followeth vain persons, is void of understanding.

Are you a young Mechanic, Merchant, Physician, or Lawyer, and about to establish yourself in life? If you are wise, look to your own resources alone, & adopt all your measures accordingly. Honestly suit your style of living to your income, having no regard whatever to the splendor that surrounds you in the establishments of your wealthier or perhaps poorer but infatuated neighbors. A few years of patient diligence and strict economy may afford you not only the comforts, but, should you have a taste for them, even the elegancies of life. While, in the mean time, "those butterflies that flitted around you with all the arrogance that usually attended the thoughtless votaries of fashion and pretenders to high life, will be stripped of their plumage, and left naked to a winter of wretchedness and despair. Adopt your plans as above advised, and go on in the majesty of virtuous diligence and perseverance, turning neither to the right hand nor the left. Give a deaf ear alike to the syrene songs of pleasure, and the scoffs and sneers of the licentious proud, who want the more fortitude to emulate, and therefore affect to dispise your virtue.

Family Visitor.

A young man having entertained a tender passion for a young woman, felt such insurmountable diffidence as to prevent his ever disclosing the same to the fair empress of his heart, resolved on an expedient which would bring the business to an issue. He went to the clergyman and requested the banns of marriage might be published, according to law. When the publication was brought to her ears, she was filled with astonishment, and went to him to vent her resentment; he bore the sally with fortitude, observing that if she did not think proper to have him, he could go to the clergyman and forbid the banns. After a moment's pause, she took wit in her anger, and said, "as it has been done, it is a pity the shilling should be thrown away."

### SHIPPING ARTICLES

For sale at this Office;



After a short illness on Wednesday the 31st ultimo at Durham's Creek Jesse D. CARRAWAY, Esq. in the thirty-fourth year of his age. The deceased was a native of this town, and has left an aged mother to deplore the loss of an affectionately devoted son, and many friends to lament the sudden removal of one, to whose strict integrity, unassuming worth, and amiable deportment they can bear ample testimony. His remains were interred in the family cemetery near this town, after a very appropriate and affecting discourse from the Rev. Mr. Tuston.

## Ship News.

### Arrived.

Schr. Nancy, Luther, New York,  
" Proxy, Cook, do.  
Sloop America, Murch, W. Indies,  
Schr. Bold Commander, Summers N. Y.  
Sloop Exchange, —, Charleston,  
Schr. Mary, Tolston, Baltimore.

### Cleared.

Schr. Mary Ann, Barrows, N. York.

### List of Letters

Remaining in the Post Office at Washington, N. C. 1st April, 1824.

A.—John Arnold, Stephen Anthony,  
Capt. Joseph B. Atwood, Abram M. Allen,  
B.—B. & C. Barber, John Brown,  
Miss Olivia Ann Brickell, Miss Anna Bryan,  
Henry H. Brice, Miss Anna Bryan,  
C.—David Campen, John Carrow,  
Miles Chassey, Daniel A. Campbell,  
James Creamer, James Carney 2,  
D.—Peter Dowdy, Lewis Dickerson,  
E.—Capt. Peter B. Eldridge, Joshua Ecklin,  
Mrs. Lucinda Edwards, Elial Edwards,  
F.—Richard Fowle,  
G.—William D. Gary, Capt. Alden Gifford 2,  
William Galloway, Mrs. Letty Gardner,  
H.—Charles Holland, Robert Higgins,  
William Harrell, Ross Harney,  
Seth Hallett, Wm. P. Hartington,  
Miss Jane Haywood,  
J.—Judge of the Court of Equity,  
Zadock Ives, Samuel Jones,  
K.—Mrs. Betsy Kase, Shadrack Kilworth,  
John Kuller, Capt. Anthony Kuapp,  
L.—Daniel Ladd, Capt. Peter Lamb,  
M.—Peter Miller, James Murphy,  
Mrs. A. Mariner, Capt. Bannister Midgett,  
Mrs. Elizabeth Mandeville, John P. Meeker,  
Wm. Mac K Leroy,  
N.—Isaac Nobles,  
O.—Stephen Owens, John Rae,  
P.—Jesse Rolains, James Redmond,  
Benjamin Rider, Hugh Runtin,  
S.—Sheriff of Beaufort, John Salter,  
Otis Sears,  
T.—Doct. David A. Telfair 3, George Tolson,  
W.—Joseph Worthington, Miss Harriett Wiles,  
Isaiah Woodard, Wm. Worsley 4,  
James Wallan, Gen. J. O. K. Williams,  
Jesse Waters, William Welch,  
J. GALLAGHER, P. M.

Persons applying for any of the above Letters will please to mention they are advertised. 77L436

### To Carpenters & Masons.

PROPOSALS will be received until the 10th inst. for the Carpenters and Masons work of the Presbyterian Church to be erected in this town. It will be built of brick. The plan may be seen on application at the Counting House of Messrs. Burbank & Potts, where it is requested the Proposals may be left, directed to the Building Committee.

2d April, 1824. 1t

### NOTICE.

LOST or Mislaid a Note of Hand drawn by Jno. Tyler, in favour of the Subscribers, for Eleven Dollars & 45-100, dated about the last of January—persons are cautioned against trading for said note.

HAVENS & SMITH.

April 1, 1823. tf436

### POCKET BOOK LOST.

THE Subscriber lost on the 14th inst. his Pocket Book, containing among others the following papers, viz.

A Receipt given him by S. W. Lucas, Const. for a Note against Alderson Ellison, for the sum of thirty dollars with interest from the 23d May, 1822, made payable to Guilford Murphey—said Receipt dated some time in February or March, 1824.

Also, a Receipt in my favor from Stephen Owens, Shif. for twenty dollars, for sundry executions against Thos. Morris.

This is, therefore, to forwarn all persons from trading for or receiving said papers; and also, to caution the drawers of said Receipts against paying the amounts due thereto, to any other than myself.

A reward of Five Dollars will be paid whoever will deliver the pocket book and contents to

RICHARD BUCK.

March 24. 3i435

## NEW-YORK EQUITABLE

### Fire Insurance Company.

THE whole of the Capital Stock of this Company having been paid—The President and directors now confidently offer to their fellow citizens throughout the United States, the means of a Full Indemnity against loss or damage by FIRE, which frequently in an unexpected moment, involves in destruction, the earnings of a whole life of industry and frugality, and reduces the independent and industrious, with their families to poverty and distress.

The Company is disposed to make insurance in the Southern States, on terms as liberal as any respectable and substantial Company in this country:—On Dwelling Houses, Ware Houses, and Buildings generally; on Merchandize, Furniture & personal property of every description;—and also on Mills & Manufactories to a moderate amount, provided they are in good order and well managed. Applications for Insurance, must be made in writing (addressed to the President, New-York) and specify the construction and materials of the building to be insured, or containing the property to be insured; by whom occupied—for what purpose, and how situated with respect to other buildings—whether any manufactory is carried on within or about it, and in case of goods and merchandize, whether or not they are of the description denominated hazardous, or extra hazardous.

The following articles are considered not hazardous, to wit, Such as are usually kept in Dry Good Stores, including also Household Furniture and Linen, Cotton in Bales, Coffee, Sugar, Flour, Indigo, Rice, Teas, Spices, Paints and Grain.

The following are considered hazardous, and are subject to a small additional premium, to wit, Booksellers, Chair makers, China, Glass and Earthenware, (not the small assortment usually contained in Country Stores) Flax, Jewellers, Stock, Oil, Pitch, Turpentine, Tar, Ship Chandlery, Spirituous Liquors, Tavern Keepers, Tobacco Manufactories, Sail Makers.

The following Trades and Occupations & Goods, are considered extra hazardous, Druggists & Apothecaries, Coach Makers, Carpenters, Cabinet Makers, Coopers, Dyers, Soap Boilers, Tallow Chandlers, & all manufactories using Fire Heat.—Bakeries, Breweries, Book Binders, Distilleries, Fulling Mills, Grist Mills, Malt Houses, Paper Mills, Printing Offices, Saw Mills, are considered special risks.

Country Houses standing detached from other buildings are insured on very moderate terms, as are Barns, and Out Houses generally.

The following form of an application is respectfully recommended.

I A. B. wish Insurance on my house (or goods not hazardous, hazardous, or extra hazardous, as the case may be) as described in the following ground plan or map of the premises. A two story framed dwelling House, shingle or tile, or slate roof, cellar with stone walls, two chimneys, 1st floor two rooms and a pantry, 2d floor the same—garret not finished. Hall through the House, hollow walls (or filled with brick) situate in the town of — County of — State of — on the easterly side of — Street, between second and third streets—On the north side of my building there is a two story frame building distant — feet, and on the south side a Bakery distant — feet.

THOMAS R. MERCEIN, President.

### Directors—

A. H. Van Bokkelen, John B. Yates,  
B. P. Melick, W. B. Lawrence,  
Isaac Collins, Jonas Mapes,  
Wm. Weyman, L. Van Nostrand,  
John C. Morrison, Henry F. Rogers,  
Israel Corse, Harvey Weed,  
Thos. Darling, David Kimberly, Jr.  
(Kimberly & Waring)

## Salt.

2200 bus. Turks I. SALT

equal, if not superior, to any ever imported, for Sale by

R. & W. TANNAHILL.

March 26.—435

## GARDEN SEEDS.

AN extensive variety of fresh GARDEN SEEDS just received and for sale by

BURBANK & POTTS.

March, 1824. tf492

## WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT

Articles	Per	D.C.	D.C.	Remarks.
Cashmere	7 1/2	19	22	nom.
Butter	3 1/2	30	33	
Bees Wax	7 1/2	80	85	
Brandy, French	gal.	1 80	2	dull
Apple	80	90	75	sales
Peach	80	1		
Corn	bush	30	35	sales
Cotton	lb.	11	13	
Coffee	25	25	25	sales
Candles	18	18	18	nominal
Cordage	12	14		
Flaxseed	bush	80	85	
Flour	6	8	8	sales
Gin. Holland	gal.	1 25	1 50	nominal
Country	50 ft.	6		
Glass 10 by 12	4 50	6		
8 by 10	4 50	6		
Iron, country bar	lb.	5	6	50 sales
sweats	6	6		steady
Lumber, Flooring	12	14		dull
inch boards	M.	8	9	
Scantling	1 50	1 75		sales
Shingles 22 inch	16	18		sales
Staves W. O. hhd	7 8	8	10	sales
R. O. do.	7 8	8	10	nom.
W. O. lbi.	16	18		dull
Head. W. O. hhd	16	18		nom.
Lead	lb.	9		
Lead, bar	8			
ground in oil	kg	3 50	4 50	
Leather, sole	lb.	30		
upper	side	3 75	4	
Meal	bush	40	45	
Molasses	gal.	25	30	
Oil, Linseed	1 25			
Fish	40	51		
Naval Stores Tar	lbi	90	1	35 dull
Pitch	1 30	1 40		
Rosin	1 10	1 40		
Turpentine	1 50	2 10		sales
do. Spiritus	gal.	45	50	
Pork, mess (N. Y.)	bbl.	18		nominal
prime	10	12		
green	cwt.			none
Peas, Black eyed	bush	50		sales
Red	40	42		
Rum, Jamaica	gal.	90		dull
W. I.	70	75		
American	40	42		sales
Salt, Alum	bush	75	80	sales
Flint	55	60		
Sugar, Loaf	lb.	18	21	sales
Lump	16	18		sales
Brown	9	10		
Steel, Blistered	10	15		
German	18	20		
Tallow	8	10		
Tobacco Manufac.	cwt.	10	15	
Leaf	3			
Wine, Madeira	gal	2 25		dull
Tenerife	1 60	1 75		dull
Sherry	1 60	2		sales
Whiskey	40	45		
Wheat	bush	1	1 10	nom

## J. S. HOMES



I ENDERS his unfeigned thanks to the public, for the very liberal encouragement heretofore received at their hands, and being desirous of closing up his business at this time, offers for sale

His Prime and Seasonable STOCK OF GOODS,

At very reduced prices for Cash, many of them even below Cost.

He would respectfully invite purchasers to embrace the present favourable opportunity of supplying themselves with Goods, as he is determined to sell them at prices, which cannot fail to satisfy all reasonable persons.

All those indebted to him will confer a favour by calling and paying their bills. 434 tf

### NOTICE.

THE Commissioners of the Plymouth Turnpike Company will meet at Thomas Windley's, in Beaufort County, on the 24th April next, at 10 A. M.—and if 5 Commissioners be not present by noon of that day, the meeting is to stand adjourned sine die.

The Stockholders of the said Company are requested to attend at that time and place, and elect 5 Directors of the Company. Absent Stockholders will vote by Proxy; but the Proxies must submit their authority in writing for giving such votes.

By Order,

THOS. TURNER, Sec'y.

March 24.—td 435

## FOR SALE,

A first rate Blacksmith. Apply to THE PRINTER

tf 406.

## BLANK WARRANTS,

On good paper and well executed, for sale at this office.

## "The Reformer."

The design of this work is to expose the clerical schemes and pompous undertakings of the present day, under pretence of promoting religion, and to show that they are irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel. The great Missionary operations which commenced a few years since and the numerous Theological Seminaries erected, and which are still erecting in every part of our country, have tended to the exaltation of an order of men to a height not warranted by the New Testament. Their numbers and influence are rapidly extending throughout all parts of the community, and threaten the destruction of our civil and religious liberties. By means, either direct or indirect, they are steadily advancing their cause, and their ascendancy over the minds of the people; and at no distant period, should their influence continue to increase, scarcely an individual will be found willing to incur the hazard of opposing any of their schemes. The pernicious effects of clerical domination in this country, may be inferred from the history of other countries, and ought early to be guarded against. There are already few who have sufficient firmness to present these men before the public in their true colors, and hence the prospect of their success and our danger, is greatly increased.

From these considerations, & to expose the corrupt, pompous, and fashionable religion inculcated and supported by this pensioned order of men, *The Reformer* was commenced. The extended circulation of the work among the reflecting and better part of the community, has convinced the editor that his views on these subjects are not peculiar: and that the publication may be more generally known, and consequently more useful, he is induced to present some notice of it in a more public way than has yet been done.—Being neither under the jurisdiction nor influence of any particular sect. *The Reformer* will not be made an instrument for advancing the views or interests of any; but rebuke evils wherever met with, and pursue the line of truth marked out by the precepts of Divine Revelation, regardless of the frowns or the censures of those who from interest prejudice, or caprice, may become its opposers.

### TERMS. &c

THE REFORMER is published in periodical numbers of twenty-four pages duodecimo, the beginning of each month, at \$1 a year, payable in advance. The fourth year is now completed, and the fifth is about to commence. Subscribers can have the numbers forwarded to any part of the Union by naming the post office where they are to be sent at an expense for postage in no case more than 24 cents a year. A few copies are yet remaining from the beginning of the work, but persons are at liberty to commence at any period, and withdraw their subscriptions whenever notice is given and arrearages are paid. Letters, post paid, to be addressed to T. R. GATES, proprietor and principal Editor, No. 290, North Third street, Philadelphia.

Those who procure ten subscribers and become responsible for the amount of their subscriptions, shall be entitled to a copy gratis. THEOPHILUS R. GATES. Philadelphia, Dec. 29, 1823.

Editors of papers, who will give the above a place in their columns, and forward the paper that contains it to *THE REFORMER*, Philadelphia, shall have the number sent to them for one year. T. R. G.

### FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE,

#### A FEW COPIES OF

## A DISCOURSE

#### ON THE VALIDITY OF

## Presbyterial or Elder

## ORDINATION.

Delivered in the Methodist Chapel, in Newbern,

On Sunday Evening, the 15th inst.

By E. DRAKE, M. E. C.

5th March, 1824.

### PITT COUNTY.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions,

FEBRUARY TERM, 1824.

John Ketterell et al, vs Noah Ketterell. John Ketterell et al, vs Noah Ketterell. ORDERED That publication be made in the American Recorder for three months, that Noah Ketterell appear at May Court next and reply and plead to said actions, or judgment will be taken by default against him.

ATTEST, GEORGE EVANS, Clk.

Prs. Fee \$5.

## PRINTING

In general neatly executed at this Office.



DEBATE  
On Mr. Fisher's Caucus Resolution.

After a motion had been made by Mr. Byrnes to postpone the Preamble and Resolutions indefinitely.

Mr. FISHER said to meet the wishes of some of his friends, he had consented to a modification of the first resolution. That Resolution was drawn up in the usual form—instructing our Senators, and requesting our representatives; but, there were some gentlemen opposed to caucusing, who yet doubted the propriety of the Legislature instructing our members of Congress. To meet their views, was willing so to alter the resolution, as to bring the question of Caucus or not Caucus fairly before the House. Of course, then such gentlemen as are opposed to the practice of Caucusing at Congress, would vote for the resolutions; while those in favour of this usurpation of rights of the people, would vote against them. With these explanations, Mr. F. said, he would proceed to consider the subject.

When our forefathers came out of the revolutionary war, they had but half accomplished the great objects for which they had gone into it;—they had fought the battles of liberty, and broken the yoke of foreign tyranny; but it yet remained for them to secure, in permanent institutions, the principles and rights for which they had so profusely shed their blood. This was not an ordinary work; it required time, wisdom and patriotism to accomplish it; and we see it was not until after seven years of trial, that government was fixed on a firm basis, by the adoption of the Federal Constitution. This constitution has now been in existence for 36 years; it is the work of some of the wisest heads and purest hearts that ever lived: and if it is not undermined by the insidious encouragements of that subtle spirit of aristocracy which is ever on the alert, to steal the power from the many, to give it to the few, it will not fail to secure to our posterity the blessing of Liberty, for ages to come. This constitution we have sworn to support; and it well becomes us to raise our voice against every practice which goes to violate its spirit or its letter. Such, said Mr. F. I consider to be the practice of holding Caucuses by Members of Congress, for the nomination of Presidents of the United States. The second article of the constitution expressly prohibits Members of Congress from acting as Electors. What does this article mean? Does it intend merely to prohibit Members of Congress from bearing the name of an Elector? or does it not clearly intend to prohibit them from exercising the functions of an Elector? Names are used for the purpose of conveying to the mind ideas of things; and it is not material what names you give, if the thing itself is the same:—It is the duties of the functions of Electors, that the constitution forbids Members of Congress from exercising—no matter whether exercised in the electoral college, or in a Caucus. If what Members of Congress do in Caucus, is virtually exercising the functions of Electors, it follows, of course, that they do the very thing which, by the constitution, they are permitted not to do. What is the object of a Congressional Caucus? The friends of the measure themselves, tell us, that the object is to induce the people to vote for some one person as President, who otherwise might not be voted for, and, of consequence, otherwise would not be elected. Now, in this object, they will either fail or they will succeed. If they fail, then the Caucus was useless, and should not have been held; but if they succeed, then does it not follow, that they have effectually succeeded in exercising the functions of Electors—in doing what the constitution prohibits them from doing?—in making a President for the people. This being their object, now said Mr. F. I would ask if ever a Congressional Caucus has failed in its object? It never has. In 1816, after much management, a Caucus was got up at Congress. Out of all the Members of Congress—119 only attended; the rest being opposed to it; of those who attended, 65 voted for Mr. Monroe, and 54 for Mr. Crawford. Mr. Monroe having a majority of the Caucus in his favour; he went forth as the nominated candidate, and accordingly was elected. Now will any person contend that Mr. Crawford would not, at this moment, have been President, if he had succeeded in the Caucus? But as anxious as that gentleman and his friends were to make him President, they gave up all hopes as soon as they failed in the Caucus. In fact, as soon as Mr. Monroe was nominated by the Caucus, his election was considered secure, and all further opposition ceased; and when the people of North Carolina were called upon to vote for the Electors, they considered it

much of a force, that not more than one vote in ten was given in; they felt that it was unnecessary to spend their time in going to the polls to vote, when the Caucus had already decided the election. Is it not plain, then that Members of Congress in favour of these Caucuses, do indirectly, what by the constitution they are inhibited from doing directly? It is certain then that the Constitution of the United States prohibits Members of Congress from acting as Electors; and it is equally clear that the intention of that instrument is to exclude them from any agency whatever in electing the President, except in the event of no election by the people. Now let us enquire what are the reasons of this prohibition? Madison, Jay and Hamilton, in a work that will remain a standard as long as the constitution lasts, inform us, that the reason of this inhibition was, to guard against "cabal, intrigue and corruption." The framers of the constitution were wise men; they knew the depravity of the human heart; they had seen in the history of other governments to what lengths ambition would lead men; that many had waded through corruption and blood, to reach their object. They knew that the Presidency of this great republic was a prize at which men of the greatest talents and most inordinate ambition might aim; and it was to be feared, that some of these would stop at nothing to gain it. To guard against such men, on such occasions it was thought wiser and safer to confide the election to the people, than to intrust it to a pre-existing body of men. The people, at the same time, throughout the union, vote for Electors—these Electors, are thus created, as it were, in one day; and, before they could possibly be corrupted, they have convened, executed their trust, and dispersed again: So that there is no possible chance of corrupting them. But is this the case with Members of Congress? They are elected nearly two years before hand; and, for a considerable part of that time, are on the spot at Washington, where the intrigue and management is going on; they are a tangible pre-established body, and are subject to be operated on by the arts and management of the candidates, who are also, generally, on the spot.

Members of Congress, like members of this Legislature, are not always elected for their virtues and talents; a combination of circumstances, without regard to these qualifications, sometimes place them in Congress. When there, they are not less fallible, than before elected; nay, if any difference, they are more so, for the very atmosphere of Washington city seems to create a hungering after "the loaves & fishes." There are in every Congress, a greater or less number of the members seeking after preferment, either for themselves or for their relations or friends. It is known, that at the session of 1820 not less than one-third of all the members were applicants to the cabinet for the offices created by the Florida Treaty. Is it not reasonable, then, to suppose that the man who will have the offices at his disposal, can, by holding out hopes, operate on those who are so anxious to obtain preferment? To show that it is, let us look to past experience, and consult the opinions of those more conversant than we are with the way in which things are managed at Washington. Mr. Taylor, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, an uniform republican, and one not unacquainted with the history of Caucusing, in a speech delivered last summer, says of Congressional Caucuses—"The mode of electing the President and Vice-President of the United States, calls out loudly for amendment. The present method is the result of intrigue—sanctioned too, by the most of the members of Congress; a most palpable fraud upon the rights of suffrage. The power of correcting this evil is vested in the people, if they will exercise it. Let them discharge those members who uphold a Presidential Caucus, and substitute those in their places who will use their utmost efforts to procure such amendments of the Federal Constitution as will produce one uniform mode of elections, by districts, in each State throughout the union. Then, and not till then, will the government be administered by a President and Vice-President of their own choice"—One of the reasons why I quote the opinion of this gentleman, is, because he is of Virginia, and there are some in this House, who will esteem them the more on that account.

It will be remembered, that in 1816, Mr. Monroe and Mr. Crawford were candidates for the Presidency. The Revolutionary services of Mr. Monroe, his important services during the last war, and his great experience in public affairs, and pointed him out to the American people as the successor of Mr. Madison. As to Mr. Crawford, he had no such claims to the office; nevertheless, he was pushed forward as a candidate,

and by management came near being nominated by the Caucus. To give an idea how Members of Congress may be influenced on these occasions, I will read said Mr. F. a few extracts from the Editors of the National Intelligencer, made at the time. These Editors are very intelligent gentlemen, they were eye-witnesses of the intrigues and management that were carried on for the purpose of making Mr. Crawford President. These gentlemen tell us, "that when Congress first met, no other candidate was publicly spoke of but James Monroe." They add, "We consult our own inclination, and probably the interest of the great Republican family, by avoiding an examination into the circumstances; a combination which had nearly produced a nomination in direct opposition to the public will." Again, "It is a fact, undisputed we believe, that the activity and pre-concert of the opponents of Mr. Monroe, and a fastidious deficiency of his best friends, which prevented active exertions in support of his nomination, together, produced a state of things astonishing to most of the people of the United States, who expected nothing less than that division of sentiment which prevailed among their Representatives." Again, "On their part (the part of Mr. Crawford's friends) no exertions were spared. As no labour was too great, so no means were too humble to aid their objects." "If one half the exertions had been made by Mr. Monroe's friends, that were made by his opponents, the nomination would have been as unanimous, as it certainly would have been when Congress first assembled—when no other candidate was publicly spoken of but James Monroe." This is a fact, which we ought not to overlook. These gentlemen further give it as their opinion, that to refer the election to the people, "would greatly narrow the scope for intrigue and venality. It would moreover prevent the possibility of the popular will being defeated by a cabal, which is now possible, to say the least of it." This is the testimony of those who were on the spot, and were attentive to the passing scenes, preparatory to the Caucus of 1816. I shall, said Mr. F. read one more extract. Mr. Niles, one whose Republicanism, honesty and truth have never been doubted, in speaking of the Caucus, that is to determine the approaching Presidential election, says, "I have had a pretty near view of some of the supposed hidden things that are going on, and do verily believe, just as surely as that I shall die and account for my acts, that quasi bargains have been made, as for the sale of votes, and that these bargains will be brought into a Caucus, if composed of the members of the present Congress." This then is the nature of a Caucus, that is to deprive the people of their just privileges in choosing a Chief Magistrate. But these are not the only Republicans who have disapproved the practice of Caucusing. In every Congress that have held a Caucus, there were many Republicans who condemned it. I take pleasure, said Mr. F. to mention among these, the name of our elder Senator, Mr. Macon; he never attends Caucuses. In the Caucus of 1812, only 17 out of the 36 Senators attended; and only 65 out of the whole number of Representatives attended; so that only a minority of two-fifths were present in that Caucus. With this view of Caucusing, can the people continue to tolerate a practice which is not only a violation of the Constitution, but an usurpation of their just rights and privileges?

But even admitting that Caucusing by Members of Congress, is not a violation of the Constitution, or does not usurp the rights of the people, yet it is improper on another ground. By the Constitution, in the event the people make no election, then the choice is to be made by the House of Representatives, voting by States. It is certainly highly improper then, for the members to pre-judge the case by going into Caucus, and solemnly binding themselves to support this or that candidate. They go into Caucus and vote for a President; they return home, and at the election for Electors, vote a second time for their man; they go back to Congress, and in the House of Representatives vote a third time; so that they have 3 chances while the people have but 1.

Mr. F. further observed, that he could readily anticipate many of the arguments that would be brought forward in the defence of Congressional Caucuses. One of them would be, that they were necessary to prevent the election from going into the House of Representatives; for if it goes into the House, the choice will be made by States—each State giving but one vote. At first appearance, this is a plausible argument, but it will not bear examination. The Federal constitution, it must be kept in view, is a work of compromise. When the members from the different States met in convention to form a Constitution they soon found that it was a work of compromise,

difficulty—so conflicting were the feelings, interests and views of the several states. We are told, that at one time, they were on the point of breaking up and returning home, without having come to any conclusions; but inspired by the spirit of patriotism, they renewed their labors. Each section of the country gave up some of its views in order to gain others; and thus, by mutual compromise, they formed the Federal Constitution, which never would have been formed on any other principles. Mr. F. said he would very briefly notice three of the principles of compromise adopted in the Constitution. The first was, that the small States should be protected from the overwhelming influence of the great ones, by being admitted to an equal weight in the Senate. Without a concession of this kind in their favor, the small states would never have gone into the union. The next compromise was in favor of this Southern States—the partial representation of our slave population, by which we gain one-third of our weight in the House of Representatives. The Southern States never would have adopted the Constitution without some provision of this nature. The third principle of compromise, is intended further to operate in favor of this small States: it is, when the nation fails to elect the President, that then election shall be made by the States—each giving one vote. Mr. Madison, in his remarks in the Virginia Convention, speaks of the part of the Constitution as an important compromise, designed to conciliate the small states. This, then, is a compromise, and the avowed object of a Caucus is to defeat this provision of the Constitution. Heretofore, Caucuses were against party—now they are against the Constitution. What would we say, if the members from the non-slave holding States were to go into Caucus to defeat that part of the Constitution, which allows three-fifths of our slaves to be represented, and thus to deprive us of one-third of our weight in the General Government? Would we quietly permit them to do so? No—we would cry treason! and march either to defend the Constitution or to dissolve the Union. Now, cannot the small States with equal justice, cry out against a Caucus, that scheme to destroy the provisions of the Constitution intended to operate in their favor? Surely they can! We should not forget the golden rule of doing to others, as we wish others to do unto us.—One part of the Constitution is as sacred as the rest; if any part is more so than others, it certainly ought to be those parts formed on the principles of concession and compromise—these it were that brought the States together, and a violation of these, more apt than any other, may dissolve the Union. To hold a Caucus, then, by members of Congress, for the purpose of defeating the express provisions of the Constitution, is certainly doing what they have solemnly sworn not to do—it is violating the Constitution, is cheating the smaller states out of their just powers, and the people out of their rights.

It will be objected to the election going into the House of Representatives, that a majority of the States, containing a minority of the people, will be able to elect the President. In reply to this it may be said, that it is not likely that such a combination will ever take place between the small states; but, even if it does, no danger can follow, when it is considered, that the election must be made from one of the three highest of the Candidates voted for by the people.

When the people elect Members of Congress, it is with a view to Legislation; when they choose Electors, it is with an eye to the President:—hence the people, in the Electoral College, are respected; in the Caucus they are not. But suppose the Members do carry into the Caucus the wishes & feelings of their constituents. The first thing they do is solemnly to bind themselves to support the man who receives the most votes, though he may be the one of all others most obnoxious to the people. Again, we will be told that we ought now to sanction a Caucus, because Caucuses have heretofore been held. The force of this argument is, because Members of Congress have heretofore done wrong—thus, precedent is becoming law;—but, it is hoped, the people of the United States will put a stop to it, before it becomes as irrevocable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Mr. F. said he rejoiced to see that the people were already taking the alarm; that they began to see the dangerous tendencies of the practice of Caucusing, and that they were raising their voices in every part of the nation against it. Our sister State Tennessee had clearly denounced it, and we must expect to hear it in every quarter of the Union. Heretofore, Caucuses have been held in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate; but now they are being held in the State Legislatures, and in the counties. This is a dangerous tendency, and it is to be hoped that the people will see it in time, and put a stop to it.